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757 the palate of an infant. Pressure was supposed to close the fonta-
171 nelle, "because it was soft and it was making the child sick." The Aztec woman held the child upside down for the same reason.

SORCERY[8]

754 If the shaman's diagnosis or his treatment failed, he was open to the charge of murder by sorcery. Such an idea was never far from the Papago mind, and the early Jesuits found it rampant.

> The whole country is given over to witchcraft. . . . Many fatal illnesses and sudden deaths are due to witchcraft. . . . Witches even kill each other.[9] In all the ranches or villages there have always been one or more sorcerers.[10]

● [683] The result has been many a shaman clubbed to death or shot by a surreptitious arrow, with the consent and sometimes the thanks of the village authorities.

The San Xavier calendar stick [11] recording the events of eighty years mentions several such occurrences, generally as the result of an epidemic or drought. "They found it was an evil shaman who was causing the trouble, so they killed him." Shamans were suspected of burying fire in the earth, thus turning away the clouds, and preventing rain. They might swallow burning coals, spit out fire, and cause disease. They might put poison into a coyote, which would go mad and spread rabies. They might send darkness over a patient so that the crystal of the officiating shaman could not penetrate it and show the cause of disease. Or they might swallow the poison of a rattlesnake or gila monster and blow it over patients when they blew saliva, ostensibly as a cure.

No one could tell when a shaman's power might cause him to act in this way, for it happened sporadically and perhaps without his own volition. The change brought no material gain, for people ceased to employ him. Nor did he attain sovereignty over the souls of those he killed, like the Mohave shaman, or the help of evil spirits like the European witch. His power from his animal guardian remained what it had always been, but, perhaps because

[8] Russell (p. 262) describes similar shaman sorcery among the Pima.
[9] Apostolicos afanes, pp. 238, 240. [10] Rudo ensayo, p. 171. [11] Underhill, 1938a.

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789 ×539 My enemy I see.
Hi ii't.

Am I not a shaman?
Then I arise and look.
Having looked upon the land,
I know.
Hi ii't. (13)

13. Something I am doing, doing.
Through the ground I shall keep boring;
This water I shall surely see.(13)

14. Foul, foul!
Here before me it is imbedded;
It is moving to and fro.(13)

789 During the singing the shaman, with his crystal, looked for the exact location of the evil charm. He saw it like a light in the distance and, taking a few helpers, went out to pull it up, while the men still sang in the council house to give him power.

He would have to stop frequently to locate the tube, and each time his helpers sang the driving away songs. Finally, he left his helpers and went alone to the burial place of the charm. Its "tail" stuck up above ground, and on this he pulled, while the charm wriggled frantically under the earth, pulling the shaman to and fro. In some legendary cases the shaman was pulled underground and never came back. But the strong shaman ultimately dragged out the charm. Several informants assured the writer that they had seen this process and seen the shaman faint with the effort.(33) After it was pulled up the charm was burned, and this burned the sorcerer's heart so that he died.

683 789 The sorcerer who failed to receive retribution in this way might very well be killed by public or private agency. His kin would not defend him. "They thought maybe those who killed him were right. Or they thought, if they tried to avenge him, the rival shaman who had accused him, would cast spells on them."(21)

766 The dead shaman, whether good or bad, was always placed in the oldest form of Papago grave, the small shelter built above ground, walled with stones and roofed with branches. Food and

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626 681 Such a fear, together with public opinion, took care of many minor offenses which other societies deal with by law and even of some major ones. For the other major offenses, there were various methods of discipline: admonition by the authorities, banishment; supernatural vengeance, and, finally, whipping. We may trace, in the acts catalogued as misdemeanors and in their punishment, two attitudes, the aboriginal and the acculturated, overlapping and combining in various ways.

674 681 From the aboriginal point of view, the major offenses against society were incest (which meant connections with any known relative); the failure of a woman to segregate herself at menstruation or childbirth, and the practise of sorcery. Any of these were thought to bring calamity upon the whole community and if whipping had been a Papago institution, we should expect these to be the first to merit it. However, whipping was rarely mentioned in this connection and the usual punishments were not meted out by man at all but by the supernatural. Families who knew that any of their members 684 were about to commit incest or had done so, dealt with them by moral suasion and, if that failed, took them to the Keeper of the Meeting or the governor. If they still refused to separate, the only punishment was to force them to leave the family group. This was a serious economic misfortune and might be considered a punishment though it was done only to avoid calamity for the family. The offenders were certain to be struck with illness or misfortune by supernatural means.

688 The woman who did not segregate herself brought on her community the danger of flood or lightning and therefore her relatives, and particularly her parents saw to it that she did her duty. If she deceived them, calamity could be averted by her confession and then she was not punished for confession removed the evil influence. But if she did not confess, a supernatural doom would overtake her and some or all of her connections.

● 683 The sorcerer was treated in an entirely different way: his was the one case where the Papago performed an official execution. It is possible that sorcery was more frequent than other lapses for the Spanish records are full of it, and one Spanish priest is even said to have died of it. But certainly, vengeance in this case was not left to the supernatural though any good shaman was welcome to try and kill the evil one. But when the latter had proved himself a public menace by the number of deaths he was thought to have caused, the council would decree his death and send some young man out with a club to despatch him. Or the villagers all together might lynch him, or several do the work on their own initiative and

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be thanked by the council. The record of the calendar stick is punctuated with such executions.

Murder, in the Papago view, was not a crime. It took place generally at the drinking feast or in a quarrel over a woman, and the victim's family then had a right to kill the murderer or a member of his family. The Keeper, governor and elders remonstrated with them and begged them not to make the village lose a man, but if they insisted, "no one would interfere." One instance was recited where the murderer had fled the country but his brother was still in the village. The victim's brothers came to the door of his house and told him: "We are going to kill you. Send your wife and children away." He sent them away and then came to meet his executioners. After his death his wife tore down the house, according to the usual custom and all the village united in rebuilding it for her at another place and in helping to support her for life (2).

Murder was considered by the Spaniards a crime for which the offender should be delivered to the provincial authorities, but the Papago ignored the ruling except when soldiers or priests were sent to enforce it. Assault and battery was considered a family affair, like murder and in old times it was left to the people concerned. However, the priests thought it a matter for the whipping post and in some places it came to have that penalty.

There was considerably less scope for sexual offenses than in modern society and a man, particularly, had a great deal of freedom. If he conceived a sudden passion, he could always take the woman as an additional wife, after the proper preliminaries of divorce for a married woman or proposal for a maiden. There were official nights of saturnalia, at the drinking feast and the maiden's dance when he could gratify a briefer desire. Homosexual tendencies were openly acknowledged and sanctioned.

Yet sexual offenses did occur. Rape is never mentioned and an illicit affair with a maiden was not important, but one with a married woman, without the proper divorce, was an infringement of the husband's property right. The husband could destroy or appropriate the lover's property and, if he killed him, would not be interfered with. A woman had less freedom and less consolation. There were no female transvestites and a woman could take advantage of the saturnalian feasts only with her husband's consent. She could have only one husband and, if she preferred another man must be divorced and become a second wife. If her husband was having a love affair, she had no remedy but to scratch the other woman while the village looked on. When too much outraged, she